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ABSTRACT

The problems with traditional testing, particularly as they relate to minorities, are discussed; and psychological tests designed specifically for Blacks are reviewed. Considered are general problems, problems with testing at the higher education level and for employment, and moral and legal implications of the testing controversy. The rationale for a culturally specific test, designed to identify and capitalize on the type of information to which the average Black person has been exposed, is presented. Described are the following culturally specific tests: Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity (BITCH), Black Personality Questionnaire (BPQ), Black Preference Inventory (BPI), Black Opinion Scale (BOS), Themes of Black Awareness (TOBA), and Themes Concerning Blacks (TCB). (SBH)

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS AND MINORITIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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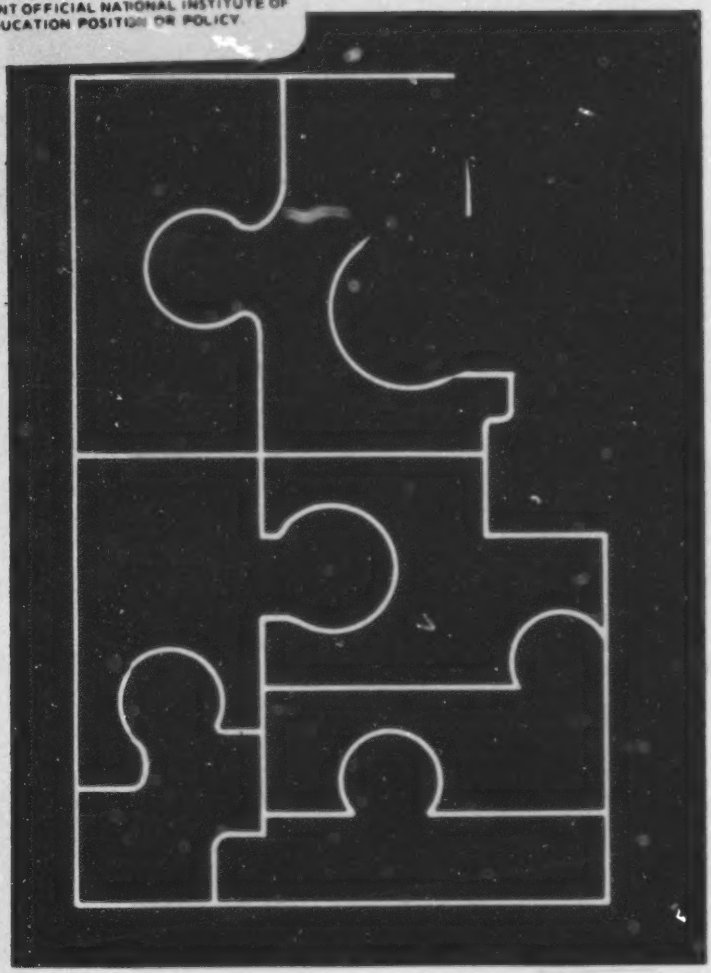

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FOREWORD

Psychological tests have been used for more than 70 years as measuring instruments for a wide variety of purposes: the measurement of intelligence, personality, temperament, opinions, aptitudes, abilities, and other human characteristics. In order to serve as valid and reliable instruments, the tests were carefully constructed and standardized, with the test designers administering them to large groups of people, children or adults, depending on the intended uses of the tests; and the test norms were then determined by the performance of these standardization groups.

But, as has increasingly been pointed out in recent years, the groups on which traditional tests were standardized were typically from the white population and the middle-class socioeconomic strata of society. Yet the tests have been extensively applied to other groups in educational, employment, and other settings—and especially to minority groups—with resultant inaccuracies and injustices.

Recognizing these inaccuracies and injustices, Dr. Robert L. Williams and his coworkers at Washington University in St. Louis have conducted research and development on psychological tests specifically designed for minority groups. The research is supported by the NIMH's Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs. This report describes these research activities, including the rationale for the development of new culture-specific tests such as the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity, Black Personality Questionnaire, Black Preference Inventory, Black Opinion Scale, and two projective tests: Themes of Black Awareness and Themes Concerning Blacks. The report will be of interest not only to minority groups throughout the country but also to psychologists, educators, mental health practitioners making use of psychological tests in their work, and to all citizens concerned with the effects of psychological tests on educational and employment practices and opportunities.

Bertram S. Brown, M.D.
Director
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Psychological Tests and Minorities

In a Seattle, Washington elementary school, a 5-year-old black child is denied admittance to kindergarten because the standardized test he is administered proves that he does not know how to write his name.

A 7-year-old Mexican-American girl is labeled "retarded" in California after her public school class is given a standard English IQ test. The young student scored 34.

A black teenager in a Little Rock, Arkansas High School scores an 82 on a standard IQ test, barely placing him outside the special education class. The student is advised by his counselor to forget college and instead to take up a trade.

Across the Nation, minorities are mistakenly being labeled "uneducable," "retarded," and "intellectually deficient" as a result of such traditional IQ tests as the Stanford-Binet, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary, the most commonly used individually administered intelligence tests.

These traditional tests make no provisions for those like the Mexican-American girl who scored poorly because she hears English spoken only at school. Her mother, father, and grandmother speak their native language in her home and, consequently, she is quite fluent in Spanish but reads and understands very little English. Rather than accept the score of 34 which placed her in the severely retarded range, the child's mother demanded retesting, using the same test, in Spanish, her native tongue. This time the child scored 49 points higher.

And if she had been administered an IQ test geared to her background, mightn't she have done even better?

Critics of traditional tests charge that such tests are valid instruments neither for measuring the abilities of minorities nor for predicting the extent of their success in school and life. One such critic, Dr. Robert L. Williams, now Professor of Psychology and Director of a Graduate Training Program in Minority Mental Health, Washington University (St. Louis, Missouri), was the black teenager who scored 82 on a traditional IQ test while in high school. Rather than take the counselor's advice to forget college and "take up a trade," Williams attended Philander Smith College, graduated with honors, earned a Master's Degree from Wayne State University and his Doctorate in Clinical Psychology from Washington University.

Dr. Williams is now recognized as a leading black opponent of testing. From his office on the second floor of the Institute of Black Studies (a nonprofit research and educational organization in St. Louis), Dr. Williams conducts an assault on intelligence testing. His research on test bias generated nationwide protests and controversy among black and white educators and psychologists. The controversy served his purpose by focusing national attention on what he considers the real problem: Because most tests were based on white middle-class values, whites tended to get higher scores than blacks. He concluded that traditional standardized tests do not adequately measure the intelligence of minorities.

Advocates of testing believe that tests are more beneficial than harmful, and are good, if not perfect, indicators of skill and performance. The most notable example is found in the work of Arthur Jensen whose article on IQ and scholastic achievement sparked a nationwide controversy. Jensen asserted that published studies justified the hypothesis that genetic factors are strongly responsible for the lower scores of blacks on intelligence tests. Richard Herrnstein followed Jensen later with an article which claimed that not only was IQ inherited but that his research revealed that better jobs were held by persons of higher IQ.

Recently, questions of scholarly fraud have been raised about the classic work of British psychologist Sir Cyril Burt, who maintained that intelligence is determined primarily by heredity and whose work was used extensively by Arthur Jensen and Richard Herrnstein. Burt is being accused by critics of altering his data and possibly making up some of it. His oft-quoted studies of identical twins who grew up apart indicated that heredity, rather than environment, explains most of

the differences in IQ scores. Says Princeton psychologist Leon Kamin, an opponent of Burt in the heredity-intelligence debate:

> It was a fraud linked to policy from the word go. The data were cooked in order for him to arrive at the conclusion he wanted.*

With such a turn of events, the question of whether traditional standardized tests adequately measure intelligence in minorities becomes evident. The question of equal opportunity also arises. Do all persons, regardless of background, have an equal opportunity to acquire what is believed to be common knowledge? The traditional tests are based on the belief that all have an equal opportunity to gain certain basic knowledge and that the knowledge indicates their intelligence, which in turn, is often thought to be unchanged and unchangeable.

The Fate of Minorities in Traditional Testing

General Problems

A little over 75 years ago, two French psychologists, Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon, constructed one of the first intelligence tests at the request of the French government. The purpose was to identify "feebleminded" children so that the government could arrange for special schooling. Later, Lewis M. Terman, a psychologist at Stanford University, revised the Binet-Simon tests—known as the "Revised Stanford-Binet Scales"—that included tests for age levels from 2 to 14 years and four levels for adults. Many other present-day intelligence tests are, in a way, descendants of the early Binet-Simon tests. These traditional tests usually include items on memory, reasoning, definitions, numerical ability, and vocabulary.

At first, minorities were selected neither as participants in the groups used in standardizing the test items nor in determining the average scores and other statistics on the tests. In fact, in 1944, Wechsler, whose standardized tests continue to be widely used, cautioned in his book, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, that his Wechsler-Bellevue test norms were exclusively for the white population:

> We have eliminated the "colored" versus "white" factor by admitting at the outset that our norms cannot be used for the colored populations of the United States. Though we have tested a large number of colored persons, our standardization is based upon white subjects only. We omitted the colored population from our first standardization because we did not feel that norms derived by mixing the populations could be interpreted without special provisos and reservations.

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* Nicholas Wade in *IQ and Heredity: Suspicion of Fraud Beclouds Classic Experiment. Science*, 194(4268):916–919, 1976.

The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) was based on a sample of 2,200 children—all white. In the new revised WISC (WISC-R), only 165 black males and 165 black females were included in the sample. (But Williams asks, "Do 330 black children constitute a representative sample of 33 million minority persons in this country?")

Let us look at a question on the WISC which asks: "If your mother sends you to the store for a loaf of bread and there is none, what do you do?" Dr. Joe Cardenas, superintendent of a San Antonio school district, in pointing out testing bias for Hispanic children, noted: "During my youth, I was sent for tortillas, and the purchase of bread was unheard of in my home until I was 15 years old."

"Well," you might say, "but the WISC is only one intelligence test." Not so; the Stanford-Binet and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary also excluded minorities from their normative samples. As a matter of fact, the 1937 revision of the Stanford-Binet was based on more than 3,000 American-born white children and was in use for 23 years before it was revised in 1960. And the Peabody sample was based on over 4,000 white children from Nashville, Tennessee.

Needless to say, there has been a variety of reactions to the problems of testing minorities. Some psychologists and educators feel that the solution is easy. Admitting that traditional tests have been standardized on white students, they naturally expect minority students to score lower on the tests and, therefore, suggest that 10 or 15 points be added arbitrarily to minority scores. True, this would be a simple and immediate solution, but does it not present other problems? For instance, if a machine or someone other than the immediate classroom teacher does the scoring, how can a black child's test be distinguished from that of a white child? Also, is it fair to add points (automatically) to a minority child's score and not do the same for a white child coming from a low socioeconomic background? After all, these children too are called "underprivileged." The question then arises: Would parents of any white middle-class child receiving a low score on the tests permit such discrimination? Clearly, this is not a solution.

Another group suggests that to correct these testing injustices we need only prepare intelligence tests in native tongues for minority groups who speak a different language outside the classroom. This might not be a bad idea for middle-class whites who speak English and another language. However, merely translating traditional tests into other languages does not eliminate the bias. Minority children would still be presented with middle-class white concepts that might be

alien to them. In addition, it would be almost impossible to translate tests into the numerous dialects that would be necessary if we truly are to be fair. The difference between Spanish dialects or black dialects in different countries or even different areas of one country can be as great as the difference between Greek and Chinese. This would also raise the problem of who would administer the different dialectal tests and give the instructions.

Other psychologists believe that to reverse inequities all we need to do is expand our standardization sample—include students from ethnic groups having a variety of different characteristics. This approach would be an attempt at restandardizing an existing device, but would we not still be using the same words and concepts for everyone?

Perhaps the most insidious effect of IQ scores occurs in labeling a child—not temporarily, but for life! Tests—IQ, achievement, and aptitude—are powerful instruments in shaping teacher expectations, educational curricula, one's future opportunities, and life experiences. The child who receives a low score is called "retarded," "uneducable," "slow," "deficient," etc. It does not matter here that from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. these same children may exhibit many forms of behavior which may suggest that they are quite intelligent. They are automatically placed (or misplaced) in special classes or in low tracks within the first 8 days of school. They receive inferior educations—slower-paced approaches, and limited subject content. Their intellectual development is curtailed or destroyed.

This labeling, by IQ score, also has tremendous psychological impact on the child early in the elementary school years. The child—not the educator or test publisher who designed the test—is made to feel responsible for his/her failure. The child becomes the victim. The negative self concept which influences all future undertakings begins, damaging self-esteem and subsequent relationships and accomplishments. Because (s)he scored low on a test, therefore, (s)he is intellectually inferior.

Testing in Higher Education and Beyond

One of the most influential tests currently used for determining who will receive higher education is the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), which produces the SAT, acknowledges the inherent discrimination in the exam. A special commission on tests, appointed by the CEEB, recommended that the board examinations, taken by about 2 million students each year, be

replaced gradually by a flexible assortment of tests to measure dimensions of excellence other than verbal and mathematical abilities that also contribute to a successfu' college and professional career.

Traditional testing not only affects minorities who wish to continue their education but also affects their employment opportunities and economic conditions. In the past, employers frequently would request job applicants' standard test scores and would include these scores in employment dossiers. Low scores either resulted in the applicant's not being hired or in receiving an offer for a lower-paying position or a more routine job with less responsibility and prestige. When black children score below average on an IQ test, they are destined to become unskilled laborers or prisoners; if they score above average, their chances of becoming a doctor or lawyer are enhanced greatly. The question of validity arises here. How accurate are test scores in predicting an employee's ability? And how long does a low test score influence one's accomplishments? This type of discrimination—utilizing traditional test scores in job applications—was declared illegal in 1970 with the issuance of the Guidelines on Employment Selection Procedures by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In *Grigg vs. Duke Power Company*, the Supreme Court banned the use of two widely used employment tests. The Court said neither had been shown to be related to jobs at the North Carolina public utility company. However, some large companies still use job selection examinations incorporating questions selected from standard tests and job applications are still written in language not completely familiar to minority members.

Moral and Legal Implications

Take the case of Mary Alice and Minnie Lee Relf, ages 12 and 14. On the basis of their test scores, officials of the federally financed Montgomery, Alabama Community Action Agency declared Minnie Lee mentally retarded and ordered that she be sterilized because "boys were hanging around." By February 1971, 21 States had compulsory sterilization laws for those classified as mentally ill or mentally defective. In this context, misclassification becomes criminal in terms of its impact on the life of the child involved.

It is obvious from the incidents presented so far that the misclassification of minority children through the misuse of tests and test results has widespread negative implications for the lives of these children. Most devastating to the successful

life progression of misclassified children are the responses of society to the classificatory labels:

- Children who are misclassified and labeled as "different" may be permanently stigmatized and may experience rejection by those in the immediate environment.
- They may be assigned to inferior educational programs or deprived of their freedom through commitment to an institution.
- They may be excluded from opportunities which are vital for the full development of their emotional and physical existences.
- They may be committed to institutions which define and confirm them as delinquent, retarded, or emotionally disturbed. Thus, the child will manifest behaviors which are appropriate to his label. They may become more inclined to crime, more disturbed than they would be under more normal growth conditions, and less bright than they could be.

This whole testing controversy has led to several other court cases which have questioned the validity of IQ testing. Prompted by the activism of the Bay Area Association of Black Psychologists, Judge Robert Peckham issued a court order prohibiting the San Francisco Unified School District from using IQ tests as a basis for placing black children in classes for the mentally retarded. Later, Judge Peckham extended the order: IQ testing for purposes of evaluation, admission, and placement of children in classes for the mentally retarded was banned in the entire State of California.

In the case of *Hobsen* vs. *Hansen*, Judge Skelly Wright ordered the Washington, D.C., public school system to abolish its educational tracking system. He declared the system unconstitutionally discriminatory because it was based on standardized tests which produce inaccurate and misleading scores.

Virtually every lawsuit dealing with traditional testing abuse has led the courts to prohibit the use of standardized tests. To preclude judicial intervention, several school systems (Minneapolis, New York City, and Philadelphia) have spontaneously dropped IQ tests from their programs.

With many psychologists, educators, and courts agreeing that traditional tests are discriminatory, we are faced with the question: What do we do about it? Several solutions to the problems in traditional tests have been posed. Among the more prominent early approaches to the problem were the issues of culturally free and culturally fair testing.

Culturally free tests are those that would eliminate cultural influences altogether. These tests were based on the

premise that if we eliminate "words" or the use of language from a test instrument, we could find out whether a child could reason, identify, and perform in a basically universal manner. But language is used to communicate. How can a test communicate its directions or instructions without language? How can a child communicate his or her abilities without understanding the test's instructions? Because it is virtually impossible to eliminate language from tests, the culturally free test movement was abandoned.

If it is not possible to eliminate the influence of culture from testing devices, then, perhaps it is possible to design a test with items that would be familiar to many ethnic groups —a culturally fair test. Common to all children are verbal problems, money problems, best-way problems, and analogies. Culture-common tests are based on these problems. They are composed of a series of pictures and require no reading. Instructions are given orally. All the child has to do is identify a specific behavior or recognize that one person is interacting with another. Here is an example of a best-way problem:

> A child is given three pictures and told to circle the picture that represents the best solution. The first picture shows a grocer handing a carton to a boy who already has a bag of groceries under each arm. The second picture shows a boy with a carton under one arm and a full bag of groceries under the other; the grocer is extending another full bag for the boy to take. The third picture shows the boy holding the carton and the grocer getting ready to put the second bag on top of the carton beside the first bag.

The problem involves a juggling act, but one that a child might be confronted with when sent to the store with a grocery list. It is a basic practical problem. As with other solutions, there is a "but." The difficulty with the culture-fair or culture-common test is that these tests did not measure scholastic aptitude—the very thing they were designed to measure. The ultimate consensus of psychologists and educators was that culture-common tests measure trivial functions and sacrifice predictive validity without eliminating cultural bias.

Many felt that it was totally impossible to separate one's abilities from cultural influences. How can we say a child is retarded when an IQ test asks: "What would you do if you found a purse with $10 in it?" The expected response is "Return it to the owner." But in many low-income communities the existing code may be "finders keepers, losers weepers." This problem is exacerbated by the conflict of returning money when one has not had much. The answer clearly does not involve one's intelligence. It simply involves one's moral or ethical code, which may vary considerably from one community to another.

One Man's Solution—A New Approach

Dr. Williams believes strongly that we cannot eliminate the subtle differences that exist in cultural styles. He feels that everything we do—our perceptions and our responses—is influenced by our cultural environment. And these reactions can be misconstrued by someone outside our cultural environment. As an example Williams cites an item on the WAIS which asks, "When is Washington's birthday?" The answer, of course, depends in large part on who does the rating. A white rater may take for granted that the examinee knows the question refers to George Washington. Do black children lack intelligence if they give Booker T. Washington's birth date? Are black children "dumb" if they don't know who wrote "Faust"? They may be able to tell you who wrote "Lift Every Voice and Sing," the Black National Anthem.

Because of his feelings that cultural influence cannot be divorced from the testing process, Williams decided to reverse the approaches used previously. Rather than attempting to eliminate cultural factors, he designed a test that would identify and capitalize on the type of information to which the average black person had been exposed. The test is constructed by blacks, for blacks, and standardized on black groups. It is a *culturally specific test* (CST). Williams does not take sole credit for the idea of culturally specific testing. As his precedent he cites a long list of traditional tests—tests designed by middle-class white groups. What puzzles Williams is how this precedent was established in a country whose basic ethic is democracy. He says, "There is a basic contradiction between American society and psychological tests. Whereas the structure of American society is multicultural (Asian, black, Caucasian, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican, and other ethnic groups), psychological tests assume a monocultural base."

Culturally Specific Testing: A Rationale

Williams' approach to testing is based mainly on a principle of cultural match (or mismatch) which states:

> Learning one activity either facilitates or hampers the learning of another, contingent upon the similarity or dissimilarity between the learner's cultural background and the material to be learned.

In the instance where learning is facilitated we have matching characteristics or what traditional psychologists refer to as "positive transfer effects." In the other instance where learning is hampered, we have mismatching characteristics or what is called "negative transfer effects." Williams

contends that black children show a readiness for learning early in life, but for sets of learning materials different from those items found on IQ tests or materials used in todays' public school curriculum. Their unique background experiences and learning sets tend to prepare them for survival and independence rather than for those skills required by academia. The result is a mismatch or discontinuity between prior learning experiences and the circumstances they will encounter on tests and in elementary school.

One goal Williams set for his CSTs was to correct the problem of "mismatch" between black children's background experiences and the circumstances they encounter in elementary school. Williams says it is time to stop permitting low scores on traditional tests to influence the quality of training black schoolchildren receive. As a first step, he and an associate, L. Wendell Rivers, demonstrated the effects of language on the test performances of black children. They divided 890 kindergarten, first, and second grade black children into two groups of 445 each. Variables of race, IQ, age, sex, and grade were controlled by balancing the groups. They used the standard version of the Boehm Test of Basic Concepts and a culturally specific version of the same test that they had developed. The Boehm Test of Basic Concepts consists of 50 pictorial multiple-choice items involving concepts of space, quantity, and time. Black teachers and graduate students translated the concepts and objects into language *familiar* to the black children. Examples of the basic concepts in standard and in culturally specific versions are as follows:

	Standard Version	*Culturally Specific Version*
(1)	Space: Mark the toy that is *behind* the sofa.	Mark the toy that is in *back of* the sofa.
(2)	Quantity: Mark the apple that is *whole.*	Mark the apple that is *still all there.*
(3)	Time: Mark the boy who is *beginning* to climb the tree.	Mark the boy who is *fixing* to climb the tree. (Variations, such as *starting to, about to, getting ready to,* etc., may be used.)

The results of the study showed clear-cut differences. The average scores on the culturally specific version were significantly higher than those on the standard version. The findings also suggest that the standard version of the test did not activate the child's linguistic systems to the extent that the culturally specific version did. The results further suggest that the black child may develop a unique cognitive-linguistic system rather than show a deficiency of concepts. The present

traditional tests and curriculums neither capture black children's interest nor maximize their opportunities for learning. Through culturally specific tests Williams hopes to stimulate the black child's interest in academia by using language and material familiar to black children. Although most tests are based on classroom content, Williams wants to break this lockstep and reverse the procedure. He wants educational programs to adapt to the child rather than the child adapting to the programs. By designing tests to catch the black child's interest, he hopes to put the burden on the schools to maintain this interest—to create appropriate learning experiences in the classroom that will relate to the black child's background experiences. In this way he hopes to achieve a better match between tests and school curriculums for the black child.

Another of Williams' goals has been to produce a good predictive tool for black children. In doing extensive research on the predictive qualities of tests, Williams and his associates at the Institute of Black Studies in St. Louis noted that the relationship between ability tests (as the "predictor") and scholastic performance or what one has been taught (as the "criterion") influences the predictive power of tests. When there is a good match between the two, the predictive power of ability tests is increased and vice versa. One of the reasons that traditional tests have *not* been good predictors for black children is that ability (or achievement) tests actually rely heavily on what one has learned. And these tests, administered within the first few days of school, do not necessarily determine what the black child has learned from 0–6 years of age. There was virtually no match between the traditional test and the black child's learning experiences. Therefore, if Williams' culturally specific instruments actually test and identify this black knowledge, they could be considered good predictors of future academic and vocational success.

Williams went one step further in his research and came up with an interesting notion about "moderators," or factors that influence or interfere with the predictive quality of tests (not just culturally specific tests but all tests). These moderators are sex, race, socioeconomic status, interest, motivation, anxiety, compulsivity, and sociability. When these moderating factors are absent, then the predictability of the test is high. When one of these factors is present, predictability is lessened. For instance, suppose you are a student taking a fair test of what you have learned, but you are very tense. Your anxiety level is high because a parent is hospitalized. Wouldn't your score be lower than if you had only the test to concentrate on? Moderators then can affect scores in varying degrees.

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What do predictors, criteria, and moderators have to do with culturally specific testing? Knowledge of these factors is helping Williams to scientifically design tests that are valid predictive instruments for black children. Why is he striving for perfection? Because, invariably, scores on traditional tests have underestimated the abilities of minority children. In 1972 Jane R. Mercer found that 60 percent of Chicano children and 91 percent of black children scoring below 70 on the Stanford-Binet and Kuhlman-Anderson tests were able to pass a test of social adaptation. No whites with IQs in the same range were performing normally in social roles. Ironically, Jensen found that black children with lower IQs performed as well as white children with higher IQs. Additional findings suggest that if the traditional tests are corrected for bias, a black student earning a score of 300 on the verbal SAT or 82 on the Stanford-Binet or Wechsler might well be in the range of 600 and 130 respectively on these tests.

Williams was not willing to wait for educators, psychologists, and test producers to "debias" the traditional tests. He was not waiting for others to create a valid predictive tool for black children.

In 1972, with the support of a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, Williams began designing intelligence tests based on the language and knowledge used in the black domain. At this time he set several goals for himself that were complementary to the more general goal mentioned earlier. These goals were as follows:

- To compile and calibrate a list of black vocabulary items
- To develop a Black Intelligence Test (BIT) using items based on black vocabulary
- To validate black responses on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC)
- To determine the correlation between the BIT and the WISC
- To develop moderator variables for certain classes or subsets of children in the sample

Let us look at the first goal and the need for identifying black vocabulary and black language. Psychologists and educators have referred to black children as being "deficient" in language ability and consequently in thought patterns. Williams does not think that black children are cognitively different from white children in their capacity to discriminate, recognize, identify, and manipulate the processes of the world around them. "The black child is not deficient," he says, "but merely labels his cognitions uniquely." Williams also disagrees with those psychologists who think the use of the black lan-

guage seriously impairs black communication in the school system. He asks, "Does the black child perceive a spatial relationship differently from a white child when one says 'The book is *under* the table' and the other says, 'The book is *up under* the table'? In referring to an animal with four legs, a tail, and a bark, is the German child deficient when he calls this animal a 'hund'? Or a French child deficient when he calls this same animal 'chien'? Or a white middle-class child who calls the animal 'dog'? We must remember that people first become aware of an object and then attach a certain sound (a word or label) to it. The person is able to communicate his/her thoughts to others because everyone in the environment recognizes the concepts the words represent."

Thus, it was imperative for Williams to identify black speech patterns so as to validate the language of the black child and also to repudiate the pejorative labels (i.e., "deficient," "deprived," etc.) applied by some educators and psychologists to that language. Since language is the vehicle for a vast amount of what we call "intelligence," Williams has assembled a black vocabulary—identifying the words and language by which blacks express themselves. To offset the pejorative label of Non-Standard Speech, Black English, Slang, he coined a term *Ebonics* (Ebony or Black + Phonics or Speech sounds) which is in wide use today. A few examples of Ebonics and their standard English equivalents follow:

I don't know what page you are on. (I do not understand what you are saying.)

The hawk is definitely not jiving. (It is extremely cold outside.)

Getting over like a fat rat in a cheese factory. (Being extremely successful in one's undertakings.)

As a result of this research, Williams and one of his associates, Paul Anderson, edited a book, entitled *Ebonics: The True Language of Black Folks*, which refers to the black creative speech expressions in both verbal and nonverbal forms. Williams uses Ebonics in the design material of his research and in his culturally specific tests.

In a study conducted by Williams and Mary Brantley, a former student of his, black students were able to distinguish successfully between Standard English, Non-Standard English, and Ebonics. White students, as predicted, confused Ebonics and Non-Standard English expressions. Williams supported his point that a need exists for "disentangling the confusion surrounding black language." He hopes that white society will understand Ebonics and realize that the true language of blacks is not deficient. It is a creative and unique lan-

guage that is syntactically and phonologically appropriate for black communication

The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity (BITCH)

The second goal Williams set for himself was to design a black intelligence test. The major objectives of the test are to identify early indicators of intelligence in black children and to use them as moderators in connection with traditional tests. In devising the BITCH, Williams and his research team selected a list of 100 items drawn exclusively from the *Dictionary of Afro-American Slang*, from an article in the *American Personnel and Guidance Journal*, and from their personal experiences and that of their friends who had lived and worked in the black community.

Here are a few items from the BITCH to be defined as black people use the words and expressions:

1. *Alley apple*
   (a) Brick
   (b) Piece of fruit
   (c) Dog
   (d) Horse
2. *Get it together*
   (a) To go to jail
   (b) To do something
   (c) Cordially invite
   (d) Corrupt
3. *Jump sharp*
   (a) Well dressed
   (b) Angry
   (c) Bitter
   (d) Get the point
4. *Oreo*
   (a) An intellectual
   (b) An Uncle Tom
   (c) A cookie
   (d) A white liberal

It was interesting to note the reactions of the black and white students on standardization tryouts of the BITCH. The black sudents became intensely interested in the test and made comments like: "Man, this is a bad test." "This is really hip." "It's outta sight." The white students, on the other hand, seemed quite challenged—they sighed, appeared tense, and showed other signs of discomfort. Some of the white students even questioned the validity of the test. If stimulating interest of the black students was Williams' sole aim for developing the BITCH, he could have said, after observing student reactions, that he had an extremely successful instrument. But such a conclusion was not appropriate. The goal was to determine indicators of black intelligence and to validate the test instrument. When the scoring was completed, it showed that the black group had a 36 mean (or average) point superiority over the white students. It was also clear that the shapes of the black and white groups' response distributions were asym-

metrical. Neither curve was proportionately balanced; both curves deviated significantly from the bell-shaped distribution usually sought on standardized tests.

The usual explanation for this lack of symmetry is defined in terms of the "difficulty" of the items. When test items are rather easy, there is usually a large number of high scores and a small number of low scores. This abundance of high scores will cause the distribution curve to be skewed to the right, leaving an elongated tail on the left by the few low scorers on the test. This right-sided distribution is exactly how the black scores grouped. The opposite was true for the white students. Does this mean that the test was too easy for the black students? Williams thinks it was not.

Twenty-eight black Neighborhood Youth Corps high school dropouts were administered the California Achievement Test (CAT) and the BITCH. The CAT results showed that the obtained grade levels were substantially below what was expected from the age group tested. The results on the BITCH were precisely at the level expected, reflecting the extent to which a test that is fair to the population it attempts to assess leads to more representative findings. In addition, it confirms the sensitivity of the BITCH in picking up "intellectual indicators" not usually found in conventional tests.

Since the BITCH is a culturally specific test and the CAT is not, the correlation between the two tests was low. The subjects who scored low on the CAT did not necessarily score low on the BITCH, and those who scored high on the BITCH did not necessarily score high on the CAT. Some of the low CAT scorers were among the high BITCH scorers. If they were measuring the same thing, low scorers would receive low grades on both tests and high scorers would receive high marks on both tests. These findings suggest that the BITCH and the CAT may be measuring different phenomena.

A cross-validational study of the BITCH was done by Nathaniel McNeil of the Minnesota Metropolitan State University. McNeil compared the performance of 74 black students (37 male and 37 female) to 155 white students (76 male and 79 female) on the BITCH and the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test. On the Lorge-Thorndike Test, the average score for the white students was 13.08 or 3.95 points higher than the average score of 9.13 for the black students. On the BITCH, however, black students scored 18.05 points higher on the average than the white students. The disparity between the averages was construed as favorable for the black students since, as McNeil argues, black students must learn how to deal both with their immediate environments from which the

BITCH is drawn and with the dominant values of white middle-class culture from which the Lorge-Thorndike is drawn. There is, however, no compulsion for whites to understand black culture which turns out to be markedly different from the dominant culture in many ways.

Similar findings were reported by Joseph Matarazzo and Arthur N. Wiens of the University of Oregon Health Science Center. Their study compared the BITCH and the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) scores of 17 black and 66 white police applicants. They report considerable overlap in the distribution of WAIS scores but a bimodal one for the BITCH. In addition, correlational analyses revealed *no* relationship between BITCH and WAIS scores. Again, the BITCH may be picking up information not usually measured in traditional IQ tests.

Another use of the BITCH is as a measure of sensitivity to the black experience. Horace Mitchell, Director of Black Studies at Washington University, conducted a study which examined the relationship between white counselors' sensitivity to the black experience and their counseling effectiveness with black clients. What the study revealed was quite interesting. The average scores of the white counselor-trainees were quite low—suggesting a general insensitivity to the black experience. Eighty-eight percent of the white counselors scored below the level indicative of meaningful sensitivity to the black experience. The findings suggest a dire need in counseling training programs to increase the level of awareness of the black experience of white counselors in general and those who are likely to work with black populations in particular.

The culture-specific BITCH represents a different approach to intelligence testing in that it attempts to assess what black students in particular have learned. And, as Williams says, "If a child can learn in one environment . . . he can also learn in another and master those aspects of the elementary school curriculum requiring this dimension or ability."

Other Psychological Tests for Blacks

After his initial research was well underway, Williams saw a need to go beyond intelligence testing. He was aware that black Americans were reported to be in a state of personality conflict because of the differential treatment they receive in the two main worlds in which they interact—the black community and the white world.

He felt that the personality of the black American had been inadequately researched by white social scientists. He

did not accept the self-hatred thesis. A black perspective was needed. Before developing CSTs to measure the black personality, Williams first needed a conceptual or theoretical frame. As an initial theme he cited, first, a passage written three-quarters of a century ago by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois:

> It is a peculiar sensation this double-consciousness, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness as an American, a Negro with two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

Next, he reviewed the works of the black psychiatrist from Martinique, Frantz Fanon, who said:

> The Black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man than with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question.

Then he cited Joseph White (1972), a black psychologist at the University of California at Irvine, who brought the issue into sharper focus by pointing out:

> Regardless of what Black people ultimately decide about the questions of separation, integration, segregation, and revolutionary reform, it is vitally important that we develop, out of the authentic experience of Black people in this country, an accurate, workable theory of Black psychology. Moreover, when these traditional theories are applied to the lives of Black folks, many incorrect, weakness-dominated, and inferiority-oriented conclusions come about.

Williams agreed. To date, no well-established theory of black personality exists that can be relied upon to answer the questions: Is there a unique black personality? What is black awareness? Is the self-hatred thesis correct? Do black Americans go through stages of developing a black consciousness? What are the differences between anti-whiteness and pro-blackness?

As a clinical psychologist, Williams knew the importance of a well-developed self concept. He, therefore, set out initially to develop a theory of how black identity develops in this country.

In 1970 black psychologists William E. Cross, Jr., of Princeton, and Charles Thomas had already advanced two similar hypotheses of black identity transformation. Cross identified several "stages" a person might go through in the transformation process as follows:

Stage 1: Pre-Encounter. In this stage, a person thinks, acts, and behaves in a manner that degrades blackness.

Stage 2: Encounter. The black person becomes extremely motivated to search for black identity.

Stage 3: Immersion-Emersion. The person develops a sense of black pride, sports an Afro hairstyle, wears African-inspired clothing, takes an African name, and becomes an "Afro-American," "Black," or "Black-American." Confrontation is the primary form of communication.

Stage 4: Internalization. Blacks achieve a feeling of inner security, are more satisfied with themselves, and are more receptive to meaningful changes in their world-view.

The Thomas hypothesis is based on a concept he calls "Negromachy" or a confusion of self-worth and dependency upon white society. According to Thomas, black self-actualization can only take place when blacks stop defining themselves in terms of white society. One of the ways in which blacks can conquer Negromachy is through Thomas' five steps to black identity:

1. Withdrawal—person withdraws into himself before renegotiating relationships with other racial or ethnic groups.
2. Testifying—person testifies to all the pain he has endured.
3. Information processing—person processes all the information he has gathered around the black cultural heritage.
4. Activity—having processed the information, the person works through a particular group to find a link to the larger black experience.
5. Transcendental—through his unique blackness, the person loses his hangups about race, age, sex, and social class; thus, he or she sees him- or herself as a part of all humanity.

Thomas believes that most blacks at one time or another have been victims of Negromachy which occurs prior to the emergence from Negro to black.

Central to all discussions of black personality and identity was the concept of black awareness. No one had really operationally defined black awareness as a specific set of behaviors (response sets, values, beliefs, preferences, etc.) which predisposes black people to a certain type of behavior in relation to themselves and their environments. The fundamental principle in Williams' theory is "There exists in each black person a response specificity or tendency which directs his behavior with regard to racial issues."

From this principle of response specificity Williams developed nine major "response sets" and eleven subsets which form the basic conceptual framework of his system. Briefly they are:

1. *Anglo-Centric* response sets are characterized as white oriented, indicating an acceptance of the white standard and/or a rejection of blackness. Anglo-Centric response sets may be Pro-White, Anti-Black, or Comparative in nature.

   Pro-White responses indicate acceptance and approval of the white standard or of whites in general. Responses may be stereotypes, broad generalizations, popular phrases, or may be factually based,

revealing a favorable attitude toward whites and white culture. *Anti-Black* responses exhibit negativism toward a black orientation; they may be pessimistic or destructive in nature, indicating a denial of blackness or black culture, ideology, institutions. Responses may be stereotypes, broad generalizations, popular phrases, or may be factually based.

Comparative responses make racial comparisons. They may take one of three orientations with regard to attitude toward blacks: Negative, Equal, Superior.

- Negative Comparative responses view blacks as inferior culturally, ideologically, institutionally, or personally.
- Equal Comparative responses act as "equalizers," balancing racial comparisons.
- Superior Comparative responses view blacks as superior culturally, ideologically, institutionally, or personally.

2. *Differentiating* responses are characterized as being at neither extreme (Anglo-Centric or Afro-Centric) but as being between the extremes, either as ambivalent or as transitional in nature.

Ambivalent responses take a middle-of-the-road position; the individual may seem to be weighing each major orientation and finding the two balanced with regard to advantages and disadvantages. Responses may include conditional statements or qualifiers.

Transitional responses indicate that the individual's attitudes are undergoing change, moving from an Anglo-Centric orientation to an Afro-Centric orientation, or vice versa.

3. *Afro-Centric* responses are characterized as black oriented, indicating acceptance of blackness and a concern for the future of blacks. Afro-Centric responses may take one of three forms: Anti-White, Empathic, or Pro-Black.

Anti-White responses indicate a negation of whiteness and white orientation.

Empathic responses indicate a recognition of and a sensitivity to the economic, social, political, and personal struggles of blacks, including past, present, and future themes.

Pro-Black responses indicate both black self-identity and collective black awareness, including a total personal commitment to the economic, educational, political, and personal success of blacks. Pro-Black perspectives may be nationalistically, politically, economically, religiously, personally, or emotionally oriented, or may take genealogical or historical perspectives.

4. *Socio-Centric* responses are factually based, either positive or negative, revealing social awareness (education, politics, economics—changes needed or achieved), or are functional or role oriented (social development—changes needed or achieved).

5. *Anthro-Centric* responses do not address the black-white dichotomy. Instead, they are marked by a humanistic perspective, a love of mankind, and an idealistic, though not

unrealistic, world view. They may stress individual autonomy.

6. *Ego-Centric* responses are marked by a strong theme of selfishness. The individual's concern for himself supersedes his concern for his race. This kind of response should not be confused with a feeling of self-pride as it relates to being black or with a sense of self-confidence. "As a black person, I . . . am working for myself more than for the race."

7. *Pan-Africanism* responses are oriented toward the plight of all African people. The individual sees a revolution in terms of an alleviation of the oppression of all African peoples across the world, if the revolution is really to be lasting and effective in any given place.

8. *Third World* responses are oriented toward the plights of all oppressed peoples no matter what their racial identity. The individual works to help all third-world people to unite themselves, in an effort to achieve liberation for all.

9. *Uncommitted* responses indicate that the individual is, at a particular point in time, not able or willing to commit himself to one of the major orientations. In addition, there is no evidence that the individual is either ambivalent or transitional in his/her orientation.

In the very first phases of his research, Williams hypothesized a developmental progression of black awareness, rather than a stage theory, as Cross and Thomas posited. Williams felt that individuals might have some or all of the proposed "stages" coexisting within their repertoire of experiences. They may, by choice, by habit, or by ideology, respond with any one response tendency. Some responses may even be situationally determined. The point here is that some individuals have weak orientations, whereas others may have stronger orientations.

With a conceptual scheme and constructs defined, Williams developed five CSTs which operationalize his concept of black awareness and black identity. The tests are: the Black Personality Questionnaire, Black Preference Inventory, Black Opinion Scale, Themes of Black Awareness, and Themes Concerning Blacks.

Black Personality Questionnaire (BPQ)

Development of the BPQ began by utilizing six of the eleven response sets described by Williams: Pro-White, Anti-White, Anti-Black, Pro-Black, Pan-Africanism, and Third

World. The scale consists of 50 items designed to elicit the subject's personal conviction about black politics, culture, economy, religion, etc. Examples of the BPQ are as follows:

INSTRUCTIONS: For each of the following statements, check whether you agree, disagree, or cannot say according to your own personal convictions. There are no wrong or right responses, only your own personal opinion.

	Agree	Disagree	Cannot Say
1. White doctors generally take good care of their black patients.	_____	_____	_____
2. Black leaders "sell out" other black folks too much.	_____	_____	_____
3. Black colleges do a good job of educating their students.	_____	_____	_____
4. White businesses should be banned from the black community.	_____	_____	_____

The above items attempt to get at the following response sets: (1) Pro-White, (2) negative racial attitudes, and (3) to elicit systems affecting the black person.

Other issues and questions arose: Do Anti-White feelings inhibit daily functioning? If someone is Pro-Black, will he or she use a white doctor? Patronize a white grocer? Another instrument was designed to assess these proclivities—The Black Preference Inventory.

Black Preference Inventory (BPI)

Williams decided to focus this test on how survival in an oppressive society has influenced black thinking. The BPI is a questionnaire of 22 items designed to find out what blacks would really like if they had their choice, not what they have been forced to accept. The questions are phrased to elicit the cultural, political, social, educational, and personal preferences of blacks. The questions are very direct. Theoretically those persons with a large number of black preferences would differ in their orientation from those with just a few black preferences. Williams makes a distinction between black prejudice and black preference by stating that the former is *reactive* whereas the latter is *pro-active*. The BPI reads:

INSTRUCTIONS: Please check your choice to the questions provided below. If you care to comment about any of your choices, please use the space provided after each item.

Where do you prefer to live?
a. All black community _____
b. A racially mixed community _____
c. Does not matter _____
Comment:

Would you object to your child/children marrying a white person?
a. Yes _____
b. No _____
c. Does not matter _____
Comment:

Do you prefer to work for
a. All blacks _____
b. Both blacks and whites _____
c. Only whites _____
d. Does not matter _____
Comment:

Besides identifying black preferences, another goal of the BPI is to ascertain whether preferences can be determined by groups, e.g., Does the quality of service take precedence over the race of one rendering the service? Does preference on one item transcend a preference for another item?

Williams proposes to use the Black Preference Inventory as a moderator variable to identify which preferences correlate with a subject's specific response sets. Also from the test results he hopes to be able to develop a conceptual model of black ideological processes. It may well be that the results will destroy our stereotyped perceptions of blacks and add some new directions and dimensions to our thinking.

The Black Opinion Scale (BOS)

The Black Opinion Scale contains 10 values which require ranking from most to least importance for black people. In this scale Williams hoped to develop an alternative approach for classifying blacks other than by their socioeconomic status. (Or to put it another way, "If racism does not destroy us, classism will.") This inventory was therefore predicated on the basic question: What do blacks deem most important? The Black Preference Inventory was designed to define black options—what blacks would elect to do in different areas of their lives if they could arrange things for themselves. The Black Opinion Scale delves more deeply into the black psyche than the BITCH, BPQ or BPI. Is money more important than love? Is power more important than an education? The underlying assumption of the BOS is that the value system of blacks (in what order do blacks place certain attributes and goals?) is a more valid and realistic basis for how blacks perceive the world—rather than their socioeconomic rank.

The Black Opinion Scale reads:

INSTRUCTIONS: This is a scale of your opinions, not an examination. The items are listed alphabetically. There are 10 of them. You are asked merely to read through each item carefully and to *rank*

all of the items in order of your preferences from highest to lowest. One (1) represents the highest rank; ten (10) represents the lowest rank.

Your Preferred Order

A. Unity (togetherness of black people) _____
B. Power (economic and political influence) _____

Projective Tests for Blacks

As a clinical psychologist, Williams knew the need and importance of developing a battery of culturally specific instruments that could be used as clinical assessment tools. The structured objective tests described in the foregoing sections tend to yield a fairly narrow band of information about blacks. Williams therefore set out to develop two semistructured or projective instruments which would yield a broader band of information about the black personality: Themes of Black Awareness and Themes Concerning Blacks.

Themes of Black Awareness (TOBA)

TOBA is a 40-item sentence completion test which attempts to elicit thematic material relating to an individual's level of black awareness. It is similar to a word association approach—i.e., only the opening words or sentence stems are provided. The subject is required to make a complete sentence.

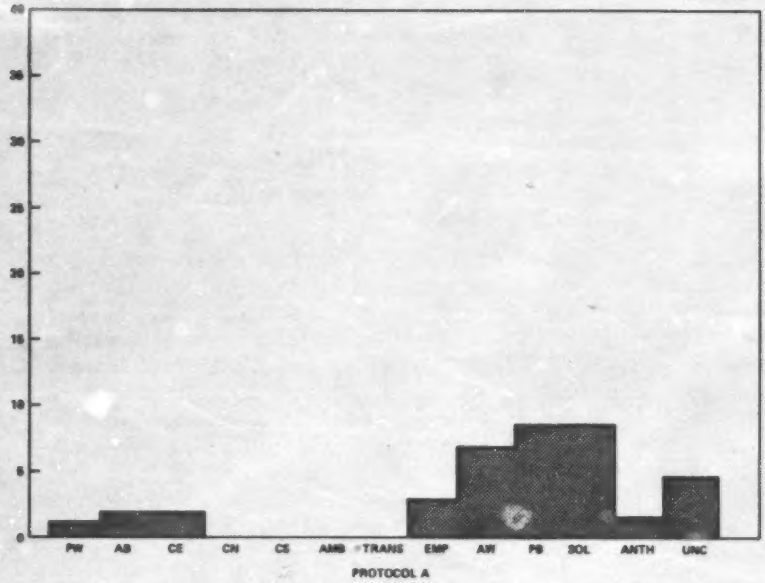
Following are a few items from the TOBA:

INSTRUCTIONS: Make a complete sentence that expresses your beliefs or feelings. Work as quickly as you can. Do not spend too much time on each sentence. GO AHEAD.

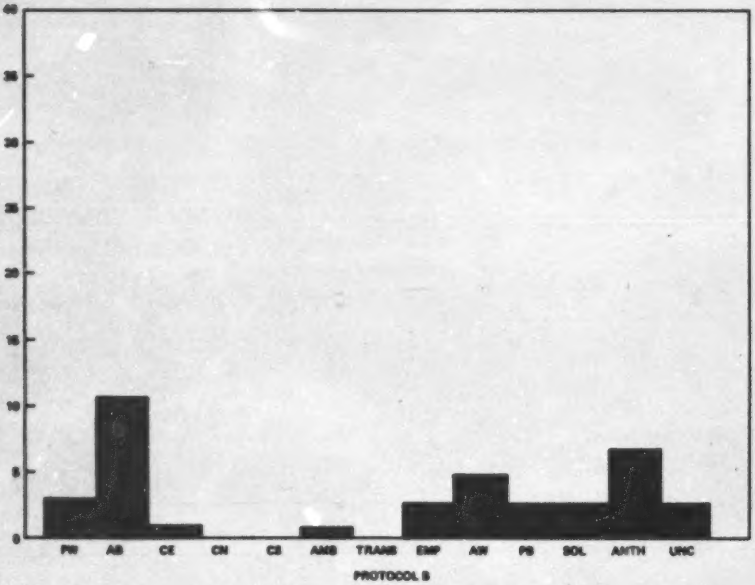
The black woman _____
Black fathers _____
Most black people _____
The white man _____

Three preliminary methods of scoring were used to pinpoint and identify different facets of the black personality. One coded the negative or positive direction and the intensity of the response. The second was based on the psychological transformation stages formulated by William E. Cross, Jr., described earlier. The third scoring method assigned an ideological frame of reference to responses.

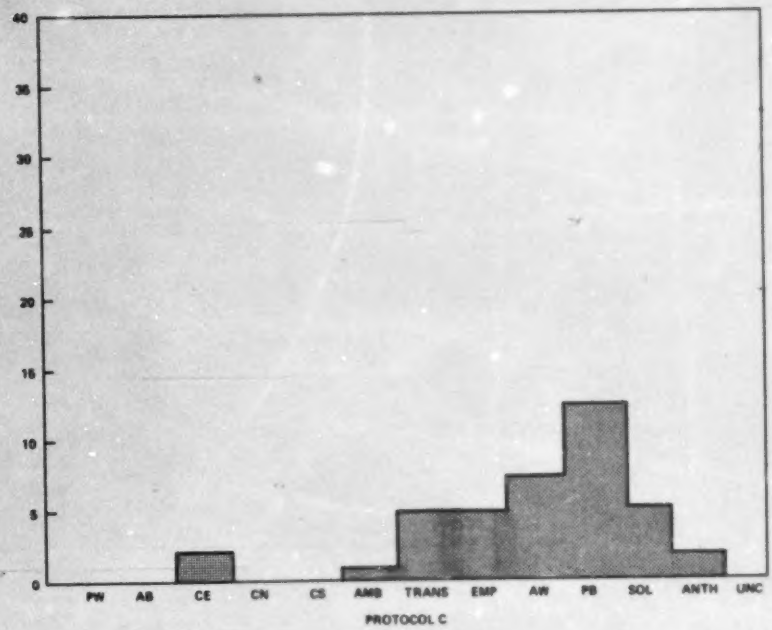
The final scoring techniques combined the preliminary methods and used a profile analysis of response styles. The profile provides a graph that reflects the specific response sets and shows whether the person is functioning predominantly on a positive or negative energy level. Three profiles and their analyses are presented in Protocols A and B and C.



PROTOCOL A. The major orientation of the protocol is Pro-Black with an equal concern for social issues, particularly equality for blacks. The next most powerful category of responses is Anti-White, indicating that the individual is expending negative energy that could be more successfully utilized as Pro-Black. Along with the negative energy, there is a significant degree of questioning going on in the individual, represented by the frequency of uncommitted responses. These responses were largely rhetorical questions, suggesting perhaps a period of transition. Comparative/Equal, Empathic, and Anthro-Centric categories have equal frequencies. These responses indicate a concern for the struggles of blacks as well as a concern for mankind in general. The Pro-White category has only one response, confirming the larger concern for blacks. The individual has no responses in the categories Comparative/Negative, Comparative/Superior, Ambivalent/Transitional. Whatever transition may be going on may be seen through the uncommitted responses. The profile, generally considered, is indicative of an Afro-Centric orientation with a high degree of concern for social change, especially equality for blacks.



PROTOCOL B. Over one-fourth of the responses on this protocol are Anti-Black, indicating that the individual is expending much negative energy. The individual's negative responses are largely due to black ideological and institutional stems. In spite of an apparent general negative attitude toward impersonal black stems, the individual seems to maintain a rather strong self-image and a positive orientation toward black people as a general group. The second greatest frequency of responses appears in the Anthro-Centric category, suggesting an overall concern for mankind regardless of race. Although this orientation seems to be contradicted by the large Anti-Black and small Anti-White sentiment, it could indicate that the individual has the potential for acceptance of a black perspective as well as a strong humanistic perspective, which are not contradictory. The categories of Pro-White, Empathic, Pro-Black, Socio-Centric, and Uncommitted have equal frequencies, all low. The Ambivalent category has the lowest frequency. No responses appear in Comparative/Equal, Negative and Superior, and Transitional. All these low frequencies confirm the individual's overwhelming concern for an apparent struggle with negativism toward blacks and whites, yet an underlying acceptance of humanity in general. Although there are few responses which can be categorized as Ambivalent or Transitional, the scattered responses in the Pro-White, Empathic, Pro-Black and Socio-Centric categories suggest that the person is perhaps in a period of transition.



PROTOCOL C. Approximately one-third (32.5 percent) of the responses on this protocol are Pro-Black responses to personal, institutional, and ideological black stems, indicating a strong black identity, both as an individual and as a member of a group. The second largest category of responses is Anti-White, suggesting that the individual is utilizing negative energy that could be more effectively redirected toward black positivism. Responses categorized as Empathic, Transitional, and Socio-Centric were of equal frequency, indicating a concern for change, particularly concerning social issues—jobs, education, and a knowledge of and feeling for the struggles involved in progress. Categories receiving the least frequency of responses are Comparative/Equal and Ethno-Centric. The individual expends little effort on making black/white comparisons. Low frequency of Anthro-Centric responses does not necessarily mean the individual is antihumanistic but that "people" concern is more Afro-Centric. Both the Pro-White and Anti-Black categories have zero frequencies, understandable in the light of higher Anti-White and high Pro-Black responses, as well as zero Uncommitted responses. The overall orientation is one of high Pro-Black feelings, followed closely by Anti-White sentiment and a concern for social change, particularly as it relates to opportunities for blacks.

Themes Concerning Blacks (TCB)

With work for identifying various stages of black development and five instruments well underway, Williams began developing his final measure of black personality. He wanted an additional culturally specific projective test—one that could stimulate responses from blacks that would divulge some aspect of the subject's underlying personality or psychopathology. He wanted a test comparable to the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) that would assess personality conflicts. But the format of the items had to relate specifically to black experiences. Twenty charcoal drawings, depicting various aspects of the black culture, were printed on cards and became the basis for the TCB.

A pilot study was conducted on black children in grades 4 through 6. The children were asked to tell what they saw in the picture, what had happened just before the scene in the picture, and what was going to happen next—a free association approach. One card elicited the following story:

> A teenage boy had friends that wanted to spend all of their time in the street but this boy wanted to be a doctor so he wanted to learn. He had been reared in a home with little money so he had to get all of his books from the library. A teacher found out about his interest and he helped him. They became good friends. The teacher helped him through college. The boy became a doctor and was able to help his people.

This response earned the boy a perfect score of 7. His story displayed internal control, goal setting, activity, reality perception, personal responsibility, self-confidence, and creativity.

From an analysis of responses from 64 black children, several natural story categories emerged—athletics, socialization, and academic achievement. Specific groupings under these natural categories, such as autonomy (independence and self-direction), aggression, and social class differences, were also obvious. These categories will be used in developing an additional scoring system.

In order to refine the procedure, the TCB was readministered, and the examiners discovered that the free association approach was not easily adaptable for younger children from kindergarten through second grade. The procedure for this age group was then changed to a theme completion format. Now as the examiner presented a card to the child, he told about a conflict situation that needed resolving and asked the child questions about the outcome:

> Examiner (displaying the card to the child): Three boys, Jack, Dan, and Mike, are playing marbles after school. Dan is shooting and the other two boys are watching. Dan wins all the marbles. Mike says that Dan is cheating. (This is followed by):

What do Mike and Jack do?
What does Dan do?
Do you think Dan is cheating because he won all the marbles?
How do Jack and Mike feel about Dan?
How does Dan feel about Jack and Mike?

Nationwide Study

Williams had completed his preliminary goals. Six tests had now been designed to define the black personality, to determine intelligence in blacks, and to show the various developmental stages of black thinking. Although results from his tests might correct misconceptions about black people, he also wanted to develop an accurate, workable theory of black psychology and black personality. However, he had only tested his instruments on limited groups of blacks. From his results, could he say *all* blacks think the same way? As a psychologist, he knew that scientifically he could not justifiably draw such a conclusion from his limited test samples. Do blacks in the South think in the same way as blacks in the North? Did cultural influences in the East affect blacks the same or differently from conditions on the West Coast?

Williams and his team, therefore, decided to broaden their research sample and to validate their findings by conducting a nationwide study to determine if sex, age, educational, and geographical variations would influence the final statistical data. Eleven regional coordinators were selected to administer the tests on a sample of 1,590 blacks in the Southwest, Southeast, Midwest, Northeast, and West.

Although a major purpose of this nationwide study was to identify regional variations and similarities among blacks in the United States, indications are that the study has provided an abundance of other valuable information.

Redefining the Black Person: A Summary

> **How do you know where I'm at if you ain't been where I've been? Understand where I'm coming from?**
> **CBS "Good Times" telecast, October 22, 1974.**

We should add, "And where I'm going to."

Virtually all of the research conducted on black populations in the past has been done with culturally biased instruments which has led to the image of the black personality as a sick white man or as culturally deviant. But times changed—morality and conscience became a *cause célèbre*—and individuality was recognized. People began to question and examine standard practices and old perceptions. But new ones had to be developed. What was the black person really like? What made

him "tick?" Williams has attempted to answer these questions by identifying the language, intelligence, and the personality of the "real" black person through his CSTs.

Through his culture-specific BITCH, Williams has identified indicators of black intelligence. He has shown that black children do have adequate intelligence and positive potential. Thus the black child need no longer function under a handicapping prophecy. By using CSTs as moderators for traditional tests, the IQ scores of black children entered in the schools' cumulative record should fall within the average to above-average intellectual range rather than in the borderline defective range. This should indicate a brighter future for them. This should mean that if teachers perceive black children as capable of learning more, they will strive to teach them more, a positive self-fulfilling prophecy. This should also mean that school administrators must rethink present school curriculums and devise new methods for obtaining maximum performances from black schoolchildren as well as white schoolchildren. This new perspective might also change the composition of track systems, college classes, professional schools, and even the black unemployment rate.

The BITCH, one culture-specific test, like a pebble dropped in a pool of water, could have widening effects on black educational opportunities, employment, housing, socialization, job satisfaction, status, and acceptance.

With blacks identified as a people with adequate intelligence and unique personality features, the white majority in America will be confronted with re-examining their views of black people. But more importantly, the black person must more carefully examine him- or herself. Williams feels that self-validation is more important than validation by others. Black social scientists must redirect their research into proactive research models, rather than reactive and comparative ones. For the most part, Williams feels that comparative research hampers an understanding of blacks and therefore should be curtailed.

Results from each culture-specific psychological test should reveal new black personality dimensions: Themes of Black Awareness (TOBA)—black feelings, perceptions, consciousness levels, and developmental processes; Themes Concerning Blacks (TCB)—motivation, creativity, problem-solving ability, achievement, personal responsibility, and internal control in blacks; Black Personality Questionnaire (BPQ)—beliefs and standards blacks use in their daily existence; the Black Preference Inventory (BPI)—blacks' unique political, social, educational, and personal choices; and the Black Opinion Scale—the deep-down value system of blacks.

All of this information should lead us to a strong conceptual model of the black personality, not from a deficit frame of reference but from a positive perspective; not from a reactive stance but from a proactive one. Williams says: "Men do not build for others. Men build for themselves. We cannot and should not expect acceptable theories of the black psyche to be developed by white minds."

Right On!

As conclusions are drawn from the collected data, the potentialities of blacks are more clearly defined. When the positive qualities and characteristics of the black culture are understood, we can use the information as a starting point for attaining equal educational opportunities—and the black child especially can be effectively reached by the schools. The data should also help us to identify and develop areas which need further testing and research, lead us to application for special black abilities in the work arena, identify experiences in black culture which may lead us to more creative thinking in terms of coping with our environmental changes, add to our understanding of the ways intelligence and personality interrelate in different cultures, and contribute to a more global acceptance of ideological processes and stages of development among various groups.

Williams' culture-specific tests may even lead to a day when we will no longer be hampered by the rigid constriction of only one "right" or "wrong" answer—a day when the traditionally "wrong" answer will be accepted as a correct one, based on a person's educational and cultural background. When that day arrives, every person will be respected for his or her individuality and novel contribution.

As Williams says,

> Black people in the United States must raise hard questions which challenge the conscience of the society. In order to do this, we must first define ourselves. We must create our terms through which definition of ourselves and our relationship to society are given. This is a basic right of a free people. Secondly, we must cease to be a comparison to other groups. In order to do that, we must establish norms, values, and goals which are related to black people in the United States.
>
> This research will not answer all the questions surrounding the black personality, but it is a beginning.

Supplementary Readings

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